

Message Text

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P 081202Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7427
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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 1147

E.O.11652:N/A
TAGS: PDEV,SF
SUB:BOTHAS FURTHER REMARKS IN FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

REF: CAPE TOWN 1146

REFTEL REPORTED FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHAS PREPARED STATEMENT
DELIVERED IN PARLIAMENT ON JUNE 5. FOLLOWING IS THE ADVANCE
HANSARD REPORT OF THE MINISTER'S SUBSEQUENT REMARKS ON THE
SAME DAY. THE FIRST PART OF THESE REMARKS WERE EXTEMPOREANOUS.
IN THE LATTER PORTION, THE MINISTER APPEARED TO RETURN TO
HIS PREPARED TEXT.

QUOTE: I SHOULD LIKE AT THIS STAGE TO REPLY TO SOME OF THE
MATTERS RAISED BY THE HON. MEMBER FOR BEZUIDENHOUT. I SHOULD LIKE
TO START BY DEALING ONCE MORE WITH HIS
SUGGESTION THAT OUR INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS ARE CAUSED BY OUR
INTERNAL SITUATION AND BY OUR INTERNAL POLICY. I WOULD HAVE
HOPED THAT BY NOW, AFTER WE HAVE CROSSED SWORDS ON THIS ISSUE
SO OFTEN IN THIS HOUSE BEFORE, THE HON. MEMBER FOR BEZUIDENHOUT
WOULD RELIZE THAT HIS PARTY HAS NO HOPE WHATSOEVER OF EVER
SATISFYING THE DEMANDS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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AND OF THE RADICALS, UNLESS THEY ARE PREPARED TO CAPITULATE
COMPLETELY AND TO ACCEPT THE UNITED NATIONS' CONCEPT OF
MAJORITY RULE, OR "ONE MAN, ONE VOTE" IN ONE POLITICAL ENTITY.
HOWEVER, I DID NOT HEAR
THE HON. MEMBER DISCUSS THAT POINT HERE TODAY.
FOR YEARS HIS DEMAND WAS THAT PETTY APARTHEID SHOULD BE REMOVED,
THAT THE UGLY AND ROUGH SIDES OF APARTHEID SHOULD BE DONE AWAY

WITH. TODAY, HOWEVER, I DID NOT HEAR HIS SAY A WORD ABOUT THAT.
NOW ALL OF A SUDDEN HE SIMPLY WANTS TO THROW OVERBOARD THE WHOLE
CONCEPT OF MULTINATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

MR. J.D. DU P. BASSON: NOT AT ALL*

THE MINISTER: HOWEVER, THAT IS NOT GOING TO HELP THEM. I AM NOT
PREPARED AFTER SO MANY YEARS, TO TRY TO PROVE THE OBVIOUS ANY
LONGER IN THIS HOUSE. THE PFP KNOW THEY HAVE NO HOPE. THEY KNOW
WHAT THE DEMANDS ARE AND THEY KNOW THEY CANNOT MEET THEM.
APPARENTLY NOT EVEN RHODESIA CAN MEET THEM. THEY KNOW THAT THE
OUTSIDE WORLD IS NOT CONCERNED WITH THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE
LIVING CONDITIONS OF BLACK OR COLOURED OR ASIAN PEOPLE IN THIS
COUNTRY. THE RADICAL WORLD IS NO LONGER INTERESTED IN THAT.

LET ME ILLUSTRATE THIS

THE UNITED STATES IS CONSISTENTLY AND CONSTANTLY URGING US TO
IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF OUR BLACK PEOPLE BY FOR INSTANCE
PROVIDING BETTER EDUCATION, BETTER TRAINING, BETTER HOUSING AND
HIGHER SALARIES. I THINK THE HON. MEMBER WILL AGREE WITH
ME THAT IT IS CORRECT TO PUT IT LIKE THAT. THE HON. MEMBER
WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT WE ARE CONSISTENTLY, CONTINUOUSLY
BEING URGED, BEING PRESSED-IF I MAY USE THE WORD- BY THE UNITED
STATES, BY THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND OTHERS TO DO JUST THAT.

HOWEVER, THESE THINGS REQUIRE MONEY, VASR AMOUNTS OF MONEY AND MONEY
CAN ONLY BE GENERATED IF THERE IS SUFFICIENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT,
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SUFFICIENT ECONOMIC GROWTH IN SOUTH AFRICA. SOUTH AFRICA IS TODAY
COMMITTED TO NARROWING THE GAP BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE ADVANCEMENT.
THAT IS A FACT. THIS GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO THAT. HOWEVER,
AT THIS VERY JUNCTURE, OUR CAPACITY TO GENERATE THE FUNDS REQUIRED
FOR THIS PURPOSE IS BEING HAMPERED AND INHIBITED BY THE RESTRICTIONS
PLACED ON OUR ECONOMY BY CAMPAIGNS FOR DISINVESTMENT AND BY
THREATS OF SANCTIONS. THIS IS THE SITUATION.

THE CURRENT ISSUE OF THE INFLUENCIAL BUSINESS MAGAZINE FORTUNE
POINTS OUT THE FOLLOWING IN CONNECTION WITH THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE-

PRACTICALLY EVERY MAJOR STEP FORWARD... THAT IS IN THE UNITED
STATES-
...WAS LINKED
WITH ECONOMIC PROGRESS. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND NOT
STRENGTHEN THE SYSTEM OF INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM IN
THE UNITED STATESHNNNT DESTROYED ITKX #
IN OTHER WRDSNZ #
ANYONE WHO WANTS TO DEYOWYV#RACISM IN THIS COUNTRY
SHOULD
RVEST HDE #
HOWEVER, THEY DO NOT EVEN WANT FY79 THAT.

THIS IS THE POINT I AM TRYING TO MAKE. I DO NOT WANT TO ENGAGE IN INVECTIVE AND ACRIMONIOUS DEBATES WITH THE UNITED STATES, BUT IF WE ARE TO CONDUCT A CONSTRUCTIVE DEBATE WITH THE UNITED STATES, THESE CONTRADICTIONS SHOULD BE REMOVED. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY OF DOING IT. WE ARE DEALING WITH THE WELFARE AND THE PROGRESS OF THE BLACK PEOPLES IN THIS COUNTRY, AND UNLESS THIS TENDENCY TO PUNISH SOUTH AFRICA, TO TAKE PUNITIVE MEASURES AGAINST THIS COUNTRY, IS REMOVED FROM THE MINDS FROM CERTAIN UNITED STATES OFFICIALS, I FEEL MYSELF ENTITLED TO CONCLUDE THAT THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION IS SIMPLY NOT CONCERNED ABOUT THE WELFARE OF THE BLACK PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS ANOTHER ASPECT TO WHICH I SHOULD LIKE TO REFER. THIS POINT IS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE VINDICTIVENESS IN THE MINDS OF

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NOTE BY OC/T: SECTION 1 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 1147; #PARA. 6. AS RECEIVED. CORRECTIONS TO FOLLOW.

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SOME AMERICANS AND IT WAS ACTUALLY RAISED BY THE HON. MEMBER FOR SIMONSTOWN. I REFER TO THE SELF-DENYING LENGTHS TO WHICH THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE CORPS ARE PREPARED TO GO TO OFFEND SOUTH AFRICA. A DECREE WAS ISSUED BY THE DIRECTOR

OF THE USA PEACE CORPS THAT ITS VOLUNTEERS IN NEIGHBOURING TERRITORIES HERE WERE PROHIBITED FROM RECEIVING MEDICAL TREATMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. INSTEAD PEACE CORPS WORKERS WERE REQUIRED TO FLY ALL THE WAY TO WEST GERMANY FOR TREATMENT. THIS DECREE, WHICH I UNDERSTAND HAS SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN DOWNGRADED TO AN ADVISORY IN TERMS OF WHICH PEACE CORPS WORKERS ARE ADVISED TO AVOID MEDICAL TREATMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, SHOULD BESEEN AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S RECENT RELAXATION OF TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS FOR AMERICANS TO COUNTRIES SUCH AS CUBA, ALBANIA AND NORTH KOREA, COUNTRIES WITH WHOM THE USA HAS NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND WITH WHOSE INTERNAL POLICIES WASHINGTON PRESUMABLY DOES NOT AGREE.

THERE WE HAVE IT CLEARLY. WE CAN TALK FOR HOURS TONIGHT AND TRY TO SCORE DEBATING POINTS OFF ONE ANOTHER ON THIS SERIOUS MATTER, BUT ONE GETS THE IMPRESSION THAT THE HARDER THE GOVERNMENT AND THE COUNTRY TRY TO GET CLOSER TO THE GOAL-POSTS, THE FURTHER BACK THE GOAL-POSTS ARE MOVED EVERY TIME. IT ALMOST DOES

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NOT MATTER WHAT WE TRY TO DO. THERE CANNOT BE AN HON. MEMBER IN THE HOUSE--LET US TALK FRANKLY WITH ONE ANOTHERNOW--WHO CAN TELL ME THAT WHAT HAD BEEN DONE IN THE FIELD OF SPORT IN THIS COUNTRY, IS PURELY A COSMETIC METAMORPHESIS. SUCH AN ALLEGATION IS SIMPLY NOT TRUE. HON. MEMBERS WILL PROBABLY AGREE WITH ME THAT MY COLLEAGUE, DR. PIET KOORNHOF, HAS TOILED UNCEASINGLY...

MR. R.A.F. SWART: TOO LATE.

THE MINISTER: NO, NOTHING IS EVER TOO LATE IF ONE GENUINELY WANTS TO DO GOOD. IF THAT IS THE STANDPOINT OF THE HON. MEMBERS ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE, WE MIGHT AS WELL ALL GIVE UP AND RUN AWAY, FOR THEN IT IS TOO LATE FOR THEIR POLICY? WHAT HAPPENED THE OTHER DAY WHEN CERTAIN BLACK LEADER GAVE HIS OPINION OF THEIR POLICY?

THE IMPORTANT POINT TONIGHT IS THAT WHEN, IN A DEBATE ON YRREIGN AFFAIRS, ONE KNOWS WHAT IS INVOLVED AND WHAT IS AT STAKE, NAMELY THE GREAT STRUGGLE FOR THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS, ONE KNOWS FULL WELL THAT AS WE SIT HERE TONIGHT, IT IS NO LONGER OF ANY AVAIL TO CONDUCT DEBATES IN COMMITTEE, WHEN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS VOTE IS UNDER DISCUSSION, ON WHAT PARTY IN THIS HOUSE HAS A POLICY WHICH MIGHT POSSIBLY SATISFY THE RADICIAL WORLD, BECAUSE WE ALL FALL SHORT. WE CAN FORGET ABOUT THAT. WHAT CAN INDEED BE DEBATED, IS HOW WE COULD PM SIBLY BRING ABOUT CHANGES SO THAT INTERNALLY WE CAN ACCUEVE A STRONG POSITION OF GOODWILL, PROSPERITY AND GOOD RELATIONS TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER, SO THAT WE CAN OFFER THE GREATEST POSSIBLE RESISTANCE WHEN THIS ONSLAUGHT IS MADE ON US FROM OUTSIDE. IN MY VIEW, THERE CAN BE A HEALTHY DEBATE ABOUT THAT, BUT IF

THERE IS A PARTY WHICH IS REPRESENTED IN THIS HOUSE AT THIS JUNCTURE--AS FAR AS I KNOW, THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS NOT YET REPRESENTED HERE...(INTERJECTIONS.)-- WHICH WANTS TO TELL ME THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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IT HOPES TO SATISFY THE HOSTILE WORLD WITH ITS POLICY, IT MAY AS WELL FORGET ABOUT IT. I SHALL BE GRATEFUL--IN FACT, I THINK IT WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL OF US AND EVEN IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR COLOURED, OUR ASIAN AND OUR BLACK PEOPLE--IF WE CAN NOW DROP THAT KIND OF PETTY ARGUMENT AND RATHER CONSTRUCTIVELY ENCOURAGE AND SUPPLEMENT ONE ANOTHER IN RESPECT OF THOSE MATTERS WHICH WOULD BUILD UP OUR INTERNAL STRENGTH SO THAT WE CAN STAND TOGETHER AGAINST THE OUTSIDE WORLD TO SHOW THEM THAT THERE IS A LOT OF GOOD IN THIS COUNTRY. THERE ARE MISTAKES, BUT THERE IS ALSO A LOT OF GOOD. THERE IS MUCH THAT IS NOBLE IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR PEOPLE. THERE IS MUCH HOPE IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACK,BROWN,ASIAN AND WHITE PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY. LET US BUILD ON THAT; LET US, FOR ONCE, TELL THE WHITE PEOPLE THAT THEY ARE NOT AS BAD AS THE HON. MEMBER FOR BEZUIDENHOUT MAKES THEM OUT TO BE. LET US SAY FOR ONCE THAT THERE IS STILL MUCH GOODWILL BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT POPULATION GROUPS OF THE COUNTRY, BECAUSE WE SEE THAT EVERY DAY. HON. MEMBERS CAN WALK WITH ME THROUGH THE STREETS OF CAPE TOWN, PRETORIA OR JOHANNESBURG DURING THE DAY...

MR. B.R. BAMFORD: TELL THAT TO STEVE BIKO.

THE MINISTER: THE HON. MEMBER MUST LISTEN TO THIS. THE OTHER DAY THERE WAS A FOREIGN BLACK MAN WHO WAS PAYING A VISIT TO OUR COUNTRY, AND WHEN THE HON. THE PRIME MINISTER ASKED HIM WHAT HAD IMPRESSED HIM MOST, HE SAID: "SIR, I THINK YOU MAY LAUGH AT ME, BUT I FIND HERE THAT PEOPLE DO NOT PUSH ME FROM THE SIDEWALKS-IN FACT, THEY ARE FRIENDLY- AND IN A SHOP WHERE I BOUGHT TOOTHPASTE, THE YOUNG LADY BEHIND THE COUNTER TREATED ME IN A MUCH MORE FRIENDLY MANNER THAN I WOULD BE TREATED IN EUROPE". THIS MIGHT SOUND CHILDISH, SILLY OR RIDICULOUS,

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BUT THIS IS THE TYPE OF GOODWILL WHICH MEMBERS ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE SHOULD ALSO TALK ABOUT. TALK ABOUT IT A LITTLE AND HON. MEMBERS WILL SEE HOW THAT WILL HELP THEM. IT WILL ENCOURAGE THEM TO THINK (GARBLED). WE ARE NOT UNDERESTIMATING THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR SITUATION. I HAVE GIVEN A REALISTIC SUMMARY HERE TONIGHT. MY DEPARTMENT HAS GIVEN A BALANCED REVIEW-THE HON. MEMBER FOR BEZUIDENHOUT MUST ADMIT THAT-OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION AT THE UN. WE ARE NOT TRYING TO HIDE ANYTHING IN THIS CONNECTION. BUT IT WILL NOT HELP US TO REPEAT THE SAME ARGUMENTS
YEAR AFTER YEAR ABOUT WHO AMONG US DOES IN FACT STANDS A CHANCE OF SATISFYING THE RADICALS. NOT ONE OF US* LET US ACCEPT THAT NOW AND RATHER CONDUCT CONSTRUCTIVE DEBATES ON CONSTRUCTIVE ASPECTS.

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: IF BAMFORD WERE TO DO THAT, WE WOULD BE LESS SOUR.

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: THE HON. MEMBER FOR BEZUIDENHOUT POSED A VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION. THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT REALIZED HOW SERIOUS THE SITUATION AGAINST US WAS , OR WORDS TO THAT AFFECT. I THINK I HAVE ALREADY INDICATED, IN THE BRIEF STATEMENT I MADE EARLIER UNCLASSIFIED

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HOW SERIOUS THE SITUATION IS, AT LEAST HOW SERIOUS I CONSIDER THE SITUATION TO BE. I TOOK OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AS AN EXAMPLE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE WHOLE WESTERN WORLD. HOWEVER MY REMARKS ON THIS ISSUE WOULD BE INCOMPLETE IF I FAILED TO POINT OUT THAT THERE ARE ALSO POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND, LIKE OURSELVES, I BELIEVE THERE ARE THOSE IN THE UNITED STATES AND, LIKE OURSELVES, I BELIEVE THERE ARE THOSE IN THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION AND ELSEWHERE WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE WHOLE WESTERN WORLD.

HOWEVER MY REMARKS ON THIS ISSUE WOULD BE INCOMPLETE IF I FAILED TO POINT OUT THAT THERE ARE ALSO POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN OUR

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND, LIKE OURSELVES, I BELIEVE THERE ARE THOSE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION AND ELSEWHERE WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS. IN HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS WE HAVE IDENTIFIED SOME OF THESE AREAS WHICH MIGHT RECEIVE FURTHER AND URGENT ATTENTION. HOPEFULLY THESE POSITIVE ELEMENTS WILL IN THE FUTURE BE EXPLORED WITH THE SAME VIGOUR THAT HAD BEEN DEVOTED IN THE RECENT PAST TO THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS. A RAY OF HOPE CAN BE SEEN IN THE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION-IT IS NOT KNOWN HOW SUBSTANTIAL THEY ARE- WHICH APPEAR TO BE EMERGING WITHIN THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION CONCERNING RUSSIAN AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA.

IN THIS CONNECTION ALLOW ME TO QUOTE BRIEFLY FROM A STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE SENATE RECENTLY. I THINK DURING THE FIRST WEEK IN MAY. THEY SAID-

IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT,EITHER DIRECTLY OR BY USING ITS CUBAN SURROGATES, HAS BECOME THE PROVOCATEUR OF REVOLUTION AND INSTABILITY THROUGH HIGHLY DISCIPLINED AND UNCLASSIFIED

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WELL ARMED CLANDESTINE INFRASTRUCTURES IN MANY UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES....THE SOVIET UNION HAS TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF TRIBAL , RACIAL AND REGIONAL DISPUTES, AND THE UNDERSTANDABLE AFRICAN REACTION TO THE COLONIALISM OF THE 19TH CENTURY, TO FORGE ITS OWN BRAND OF 20TH CENTURY COLONIALISM WITH CUBAN RIFLE BEARERS..... IT IS TIME FOR THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION TO SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT WHAT THE SOVIETS ARE DOING AND THEIR ADVERSE IMPACT ON THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES IN THE LONG RUN.

THIS WAS A POSITIVE STATEMENT. THE ELEMENT THAT APPEARS TO HAVE BE UNDERPLAYED FROM THE BEGINNING, IN THE UNITED STATES' BROAD GLOBAL FURATEGY, HAS BEEN RUSSIAN MILITARY MIGHT AND ITS EAGERNESS TO APPLY THIS MIGHT OPPORTUNISTICALLY. IT SEEMS THAT THE RUSSO-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ZAIRE, FOLLOWING ON THE HEELS OF THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA CONFLICT IS CAUSING CONCERN AT LEAST TO SOME MEMBERS OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S GOVERNMENT BECAUSE OF ITS LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS. WE WELCOME THE LATEST STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING THE SERIOUS THREAT TO AFRICAN STABILITY POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION. SIMILARLY THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION OUTSIDE AFRICA IS APPARENTLY NOW ALSO BEING RECOGNIZED. I QUOTE WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER SAID AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE NATO CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON ON 30 MAY HE SAID-

THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES POSE A MILITARY THREAT TO OUR ALLIANCE WHICH FAR EXCEEDS THEIR LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS. FOR MORE THAN A DECADE THE MILITARY POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS STEADILY

EXPANDED, AND IT HAS GROWN CONSISTENTLY MORE SOPHISTICATED.
IN SIGNIFICANT AREAS THE MILITARY LEAD WHICH WE NOW ENJOY HAS
BEEN REDUCED.

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THAT IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS
ALREADY WELCOMED THIS. THE CONCERN EXPRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES HERE WAS ALSO VOICED BY OTHER NATO LEADERS.
WE WELCOME THESE STATEMENTS AND HOPE THAT THIS WILL LEAD TO A MORE
CONSTRUCTIVE AND REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH
AFRICA AND OF THE THREAT OF THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS
TO THE STABILITY OF AFRICA. IT IS ALSO HEARTENING TO READ WHAT
THE PRESIDENT EYADEMA SAID RECENTLY IN PARIS WHEN THE
FRENCH-SPEAKING AFRICAN COUNTRIES MET THERE. I THINK IT IS WORTH
TO REPEAT IN THIS PARLIAMENT THE WORDS OF A FELLOW AFRICAN IN
THIS REGARD, A PERSON WHOSE VIEWS ON THIS MATTER WE CAN AGREE
COMPLETELY. THE PRESIDENT SAID-

BLIND VIOLENCE, INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE, WHETHER IT IS
EXPRESSED BY ISOLATED ACTS OR THE JOINT ACTION OF SCATTERED
GROUPS, WHETHER IT TAKES THE FORM OF BRUTAL INTERFERENCE BY
FOREIGN POWERS IN THE AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES OR THE
OR THE INDIRECT ROUTE OF ATTACK BY MERCENARIES IN THE PAY OF
OTHERS, THIS VIOLENCE IS A GRAVE THREAT TO OUR SAFETY AND TO THE
FOUNDATIONS OF OUR NATIONS. FOR THIS REASON IT MUST BE RESISTED
BY ALL THE MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL.

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INDEED, AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF MY GOVERNMENT I ASSOCIATE MYSELF WITH THESE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT EYEDEMA OF TOGO.

THERE IS, HOWEVER, ANOTHER SERIOUS ASPECT AFFECTING OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES THAT I CANNOT OMIT TO MENTION. NEVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF OUR RELATIONS HAVE THE RADICAL ELEMENTS INFORMATION MEDIA AND ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN ORGANIZATIONS SUCCEEDED IN INJECTING SO MUCH EMOTION INTO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC APPROACH TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA. THIS IS ALSO REFLECTED IN A NUMBER OF LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA WHICH ARE BEING LAUNCHED EVEN OUTSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION'S OFFICIAL PROGRAMME IN THE US CONGRESS. I EMPHASIZE THIS BECAUSE THIS ILLUSTRATES GRAPHICALLY THE TREMENDOUS TASK, DIFFICULT, BUT CHALLENGING, WHICH LIES AHEAD OF US NOT ONLY IN TRYING TO CONVINCE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FAIRNESS AND REALISM OF WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO HERE, BUT ALSO IN CORRECTING THE DISTORTED PICTURE WHICH AMERICAN OPINION FORMERS AND LEGISLATORS HAVE OF SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS. I DO NOT WANT TO BURDEN THE HOUSE WITH ALL THE DETAILS, BUT I THINK I SHOULD GIVE HON. MEMBERS AN IDEA AT LEAST OF SOME OF THE PROPOSALS THAT ARE BEING TAKEN UP AT THE MOMENT IN THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THESE INCLUDE A RESOLUTION DESIGNED TO DENY TAX CONCESSIONS TO AMERICAN UNDERTAKINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH PAY SOUTH AFRICAN TAX; A RESOLUTION TO FORBID THE IMPORT OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS MANUFACTURED UNDER CONDITIONS OF WAGE DIFFERENTIALS OR WORK RESERVATION; A PROPOSAL TO END ALL EXISTING MILITARY LICENCE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN FIRMS BY WHICH ARMAMENTS CAN BE SUPPLIED TO SOUTH AFRICA; AND THE PROPOSED TERMINATION

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OF THE EXPORT TO SOUTH AFRICA OF NON-MILITARY PRODUCTS SUCH AS AIRCRAFT. I MAY MENTION THAT THE PROPOSED EXPORT OF CESSNA LIGHT AIRCRAFT HAS BEEN OPPOSED. JUST BEFORE THE WEEKEND, A PROPOSAL IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR A TOTAL BAN OF UNITED STATES EXPORT IMPORT BANK FACILITIES TO SOUTH AFRICA WAS REJECTED IN FAVOUR OF A RESOLUTION THAT RESTRICTED THE BAN TO ITEMS SUPPLIED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT OR TO SEMI-GOVERNMENT BODIES OR IN RESPECT OF ITEMS WHICH MIGHT BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE S.A. POLICE, MILITARY OR OTHER SECURITY SERVICES. EXPORTS TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR WERE EXEMPTED FROM THE BAN PROVIDED THE COMPANIES INVOLVED ENDORSED A SPECIFIED SET OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT PRINCIPLES AND SUPPORTED NEGOTIATIONS WITH LABOUR UNIONS. SIGNIFICANTLY, A FURTHER AMENDMENT TO EXTEND THE SAME CONDITIONS TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WAS NARROWLY REJECTED. DURING JANUARY 1978 SENATOR CLARK, CHAIRMAN OF THE AFRICA SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, RELEASED A DETAILED STUDY WITH RECOMMENDATIONS ALSO AIMED AT CURTAILING UNITED STATES/SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS.

FROM WHAT I HAVE SAID, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA EMANATES FROM MANY SPHERES IN THE UNITED STATES, BOTH OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL. WE MUST NOT BE UNDER ANY ILLUSION ABOUT UNCLASSIFIED

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THIS MATTER. THERE IS NO INDICATION AS YET THAT THE SITUATION WILL IMPROVE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE AS FAR AS THIS ASPECT IS CONCERNED.

ON THE CONTRARY, WE CANNOT RULE OUT A FURTHER DETERIORATION. FROM OUR SIDE WE MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ARREST THIS TREND. BY THAT I AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT WE SHOULD ABANDON OUR PRINCIPLES, BUT THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE AND INTENSIFY OUR EFFORTS TO CONVINCE THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE UNITED STATES OPINION FORMERS OF THE THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION FACING AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA IN PARTICULAR, AND ALSO THE ROLE THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN CALLED UPON TO PLAY WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, BECAUSE WE HAVE A ROLE AND I BELIEVE WE ARE GOING TO PLAY IT. I WOULD LIKE TO INFORM THE HOUSE THAT MY DEPARTMENT IS WORKING DAY AND NIGHT TO ENDEAVOUR TO IMPROVE THIS SITUATION. AS HON. MEMBERS ARE WELL AWARE, MY DEPARTMENT WORKS QUITE BEHIND THE SCENES. PUBLICITY, IN ANY EVENT, IS ONLY SELF-DEFEATING WHEN ONE IS DEALING WITH THE DELICATE MATTERS IN WHICH WE ARE INVOLVED. CONTACTS AND DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS ARE ALSO AS A RULE OF A CONFIDENTIAL NATURE.

IN ASSESSING SOUTH AFRICA'S POSITION WITHIN THE TURMOIL OF THIS TROUBLED WORLD, WE SHOULD, ABOVE ALL, RETAIN THE CORRECT PERSPECTIVE. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES ARE IMPORTANT, BUT WE ALSO HAVE RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD. THESE RELATIONS ARE VERY STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY WHAT IS HAPPENING IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. IN PARTICULAR I WISH TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE ATTITUDE OF MODERATE AFRICAN COUNTRIES TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA. IT WAS GENERAL KNOWLEDGE THAT SHORTLY BEFORE THE INITIATIVE OF THE FIVE WESTERN COUNTRIES LAST YEAR IN APRIL, THE HOSTILITY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA IN RESPECT OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA WAS REACHING ALARMING PROPORTIONS, FAR WORSE THAN NOW. INDEED, NOT ONLY AFRICA, BUT VIRTUALLY THE WHOLE WORLD, WAS CLAMOURING AT THE TIME FOR SANCTIONS

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AND FOR DRASTIC MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THE SAME PATTERN WAS DISCERNABLE IN REGARD TO RHODESIA. BUT BECAUSE OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS AND ROLE PLAYED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THE CLIMATE, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO MODERATE AFRICA CHANGED. TODAY THERE IS A WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF A GREATER NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAN IN THE PAST TO VIEW WITH MORE UNDERSTANDING SOUTH AFRICA'S POSITION IN REGARD TO THESE MATTERS. THIS ATTITUDE MAY, OF COURSE, CHANGE IF, AS A RESULT OF CIRCUMSTANCES BEYOND OUR CONTROL, INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY OF RESOLUTIONS IN RESPECT OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND RHODESIA ARE NOT ACHIEVED. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THIS IS ACHIEVED IT COULD, THROUGH MODERATE AFRICA, HAVE A MARKED INFLUENCE ALSO ON OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. TO THAT END WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO OUR VERY BEST. UNQUOTE

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